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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
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THE RELATIONSHIP OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY
TO SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT

Cases Studied in the Family Society of Greater Boston, North-
West End District during the School Term 1946-1947

A Thesis

Submitted by

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(A.B., Stanford University, 1940)

In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to study the relationship of economic dependency to school adjustment, particularly in the Boston schools.

The specific questions which this paper seeks to answer are:

1. What measures have been taken to safeguard a child's right to attend school regardless of his economic background?
2. To what extent are these measures effective?
3. How is the child's school adjustment affected by economic dependency?

Method and Scope

The broadness of the subject necessitates a knowledge of the meaning and extent of economic dependency and how it is handled by both public and private social agencies, as well as an understanding of the local school system and child labor legislation. The writer sought to obtain an over-all picture in the community and then to focus the problem in a particular section of the community by the study of individual cases handled by the Family Society of Greater Boston, North-West End District.

This paper refers specifically to the 1946-1947 school term. This was the most recently completed school term, and it was the writer's desire to relate the material, as nearly as possible, to the current situation.

The statistical material was taken largely from the most recent publications of the Boston Public Schools and studies made by the Community Council of Greater Boston. The eight case studies include all cases active with the Family Society of Greater Boston, North-West End District, during

the school year 1946-1947 where there was a problem of school adjustment as well as economic dependency. This is in relation to a total case load of 203 cases handled in the agency during the same period.

Definition of Terms

Economic dependency, as used as a basis for selection of cases, relates to persons or families who are unable to wholly or partially support themselves, and who require and receive financial assistance from an outside source over a prolonged period of time, usually several years.

School adjustment relates to actual scholastic accomplishment in the local school system as reflected in number of years completed, marks, and grade placement.

Value

This paper has value to the extent that it sheds light upon the complexity of factors influencing school attendance and adjustment.

Limitations

The presentation of the general material is limited according to the availability of current statistics and the impracticality of one person attempting an exhaustive study of such an extensive, complex subject. The limitations to be considered in relation to the case studies are of an opposite character. Through the case studies the problem is narrowed down to a few cases in a specific setting. It is, then, through the consideration of the two extremes that the writer has attempted an exposition of some of the factors involved in the problem.

In addition, the 1946-1947 school year may not be considered a typical year since a great deal of post-war adjustment was still going on. However, it did represent a movement toward normality while the four previous school years were obviously atypical because of the war situation.

CHAPTER II

THE MEANING OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE

Though the purpose of this paper is to determine the effect of economic need on school adjustment, it is necessary to consider the effect of economic need on the total personality of the child, since he reacts to any specific situation with his total personality. It is also necessary to remember that, not only does the child himself have certain basic needs, but that he also reacts as a member of a unit, the family, and the needs of the family affect his needs. This is particularly true because of the child's naturally dependent position. It is, therefore, necessary to study the broad meaning of economic dependency. Abram Kardiner states that economic security is

a fluid concept that cannot be standardized . . . its meaning is determined by certain values or criteria established by the group in which the individual happens to live, by his own particular past and by the means he has to control his environment.¹

The lack of security is, therefore, also measured subjectively, and the meaning is individual according to the person and his environment. The American culture especially places a high value on the having of money; it signifies power and prestige as well as subsistence. When the individual does not have the opportunity to meet these needs, anxieties and tensions result. Dr. Kardiner points out that "tolerance for disappointing experience is built up on the basis of past successes"² while failure

¹ Abram Kardiner, "The Role of Economic Security in the Adaption of the Individual," The Family, 17:187-197, October, 1936, p. 187.

² Ibid., p. 188.

inhibits the aggressive tendencies which are organized around satisfying experiences. In some cases, when prestige values are completely unattainable by those in want, those values become in themselves devaluated. These people suffer a profound loss of self-esteem, resulting in depression and anxiety which give way eventually to apathy. However, in persons with a stronger ego, the deprivation results in increased feelings of vindictiveness and rage. They may attempt to deny their shortcomings and fear of failure by a defensive grandeur and arrogant, defiant attitude. This aggressive attitude is also fostered in communities where dependency is more acceptable, since the self-depreciatory trends are checked.

Deprivation may reactivate older conflicts with a resultant need for greater protection. But an adult cannot succeed in gratifying a wish for dependency and at the same time have the satisfactions in self-respect and group approval that come from personal accomplishment. Therefore, a conflict arises between the desire to be relieved of a heavy burden and of maintaining self-respect. "The concrete problems clients bring are usually evidences that they have been unable to meet or sustain the minimum tests of maturity that society places on them."³

It is obvious then that the needs of the child may be thwarted in such a setting, and

the child's reaction to school is often our first symptom of something awry in his personality adjustment. His failure to master reading, certainly his failure to be promoted, his resentment of the school's authority, his truancy, are likely to be earmarks of more fundamental problems.⁴

³ Edith Holloway, "The Treatment of Dependency," The Family, 20:256-261, December, 1939, p. 256.

⁴ Frieda W. Riggs, "In the Service of Children," Journal of Social Casework, 28:21-26, January, 1947, p. 23.

Learning cannot occur when there is too great emotional conflict or deprivation, and this is apt to be accompanied by feelings of inferiority, so that the child seeks some means of escape. The young child has no means of controlling his environment except through maladjustment. The adolescent, however, may decide to leave school; but school leaving usually means the assumption of additional responsibility, and the child may prefer to remain in the more protective environment. The child is faced with this choice at the same time he is struggling with the problem of emotional emancipation from his family. The interaction between the desire for independence and the demands made on him by his family make the adjustment of the child particularly difficult.

It would not be correct to say the child should always remain in school. Adjustment is on an individual basis, and the adolescent's best possible adjustment may be work instead of school since "work is the direct expression of the technique of mastery"⁵ and this may be a fundamental unmet need. But when it is reasoned that the less competent a pupil has shown himself to be in meeting school tasks the more quickly he is released to face adult problems, there is considerable doubt as to his ability to succeed. Dr. Felix Deutsch states that it can be taken for granted that "in all job phobias we will find old infantile phobias; that is, school phobias that had appeared in early puberty".⁶ However, it has been found that age provides only the crudest indication of when a pupil is ready to

⁵ Kardiner, op. cit., p. 192.

⁶ Felix Deutsch, "Job Phobia," Journal of Social Casework, 28:131-137, April, 1947, p. 132.

leave school. "When they attain a certain degree of chronological maturity, extra-school influences hire them from the classroom, regardless of their grade placement."⁷

Nevertheless, the correlation between economic need and early school leaving has long been recognized. Various means of protection such as child labor legislation and financial assistance plans, and especially Aid to Dependent Children under the Social Security Act, have been developed by society. Admittedly, these safeguards have been effective, but according to the New York Regents Inquiry of 1938

any belief that the public secondary school is open on equal terms to all children of all the people is seriously challenged by the steady increase from grade to grade in socio-economic status. Economic variables are admittedly not the only ones operating in withdrawal from school, for a substantial correlation also exists between school leaving and general scholastic aptitude. Nevertheless, the present results reveal decisively the secondary school has not provided opportunities for its most handicapped pupils to overcome financial obstacles and to remain in school.⁸

Within the schools of our democracy, an aristocracy, not alone of aptitude, but also of economic privilege, still exists to perpetuate class barriers.⁹

However, it is interesting to note in this study of withdrawing pupils that there exists a type of economic determinism.

Almost two out of every three pupils who drop out of school below the ninth grade came from homes rated as poor or on relief. This proportion decreased consistently for those leaving at higher grade levels, so that less than one in three, or half as many pupils withdrawing from the twelfth grade, showed the same handicap.¹⁰

⁷ Ruth E. Eckert and Thomas O. Marshal, When Youth Leave School, p. 44.

⁸ Ibid., p. 84.

⁹ Ibid., p. 85.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 72.

Whether or not a child stays in school, he needs help with the choice of a vocation which meets his potentialities and also provides the necessary satisfactions, and the freer the choice, the greater the tasks imposed on the ego. In many instances this service is not readily available, but even when it is available, many pupils leave school under the impression that it is wrong and weak to seek advice. So many of our youth approach the business world on a totally unrealistic basis. They need information regarding the application for jobs, requirements for jobs, business and industrial life in general. Any many need casework help to stimulate growth and greater maturity.

The basic needs of children have previously been mentioned. Lawrence K. Frank has written a very complete exposition of these needs, and his conclusion is that "the fundamental needs of the child are in truth the fundamental needs of society".¹¹ More specifically, Mary B. Sayles has stated the basic needs as

1. Need for security.
2. Chance to grow up.
3. Need for a concrete ideal to grow toward.
4. Need for adult companionship.¹²

Emma O. Lundberg, in considering the needs of the child, has cited two authorities:

- A. The fundamental needs of every child according to the "Children's Charter" formulated by the 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection are as follows:

¹¹ Lawrence K. Frank, "The Fundamental Needs of the Child", Mental Hygiene, 22:353-379, July, 1938, p. 379.

¹² Mary B. Sayles, The Problem Child at Home, p. 3.

1. For every child spiritual and moral training to help him stand firm under the pressure of life.
2. For every child understanding and the guarding of his personality, as his most precious right.
3. For every child a home and that love and security which a home provides.

B. The rights of childhood as summarized by Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief of the United States Children's Bureau.

1. Physical and mental health.
2. Normal home life.
3. The largest possible development of his powers through education.
4. Moral and religious training.
5. Opportunity for wholesome play and companionship.
6. Protection from work that interferes with health and schooling.¹³

It is important to recognize these needs when considering the role of the school in the child's development because

the school is not an isolated institution which can perform its specific functions efficiently in comparative seclusion. It is one of the many social forces which transmute childhood into adult citizenship.¹⁴

Another authority, John J. B. Morgan, states the "main object of education is to fit an individual to become successful in his personal relations with his fellows".¹⁵ In general, it has come to be recognized that the school has a much broader function and meaning to the child than simply the teaching of specific skills. However, all children do not have equal opportunity for education, and special needs are frequently overlooked.

¹³ Emma O. Lundberg, Unto the Least of These, pp. 3-4.

¹⁴ Mary B. Sayles, The Problem Child in School, p. 274.

¹⁵ John J. B. Morgan, The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child, p. 7.

CHAPTER III

COMPARISON OF NORTH-WEST END DISTRICT TO THE TOTAL COMMUNITY

The city of Boston has been divided into fifteen Health and Welfare Areas. The Family Society of Greater Boston, North-West End District, serves the North End and West End Areas. This includes the following census tracts: F1, F2, F3, F4, F5, F6, K1, K2, H1, H2, H3, H4. A map showing these census tracts appears in the appendix.

The Greater Boston Community Council has made studies comparing the various sections of Boston; however, this was done on the basis of sixty-seven neighborhoods. According to these studies the census tracts with which this paper is concerned were divided as follows:

West End:

Back of Beacon Hill Neighborhood: K1, 1/3H4, F6

Beacon Hill Neighborhood: K2

West End Proper: H1, H2, H3, 2/3H4

North End Neighborhood: F1, F2, F3, F4, F5

The North End Health and Welfare Area includes census tract F6 as well as the tracts included in the North End Neighborhood. It will be noted that it was felt that F6 was thought to belong more properly to the Back of Beacon Hill Neighborhood than to North End, and that while North End is a homogeneous area, West End is not; this was further borne out by the figures compiled by the Greater Boston Community Council.

The figures used by the Community Council are principally those of the census of 1940; the only figures of more recent origin that are applicable to this paper are those relating to Dependent Aid and Aid to Dependent Children. These were taken as of March 1944. The Council believes, however, that their figures remain valid for purposes of comparison, that though the

over-all scene changed markedly during the war years, the relationship between neighborhoods did not change to any appreciable degree. On the basis of these figures, they published a map in 1946 entitled, "Sixty-three Boston Neighborhoods--A Comparison in Favorability". Though sixty-seven neighborhoods were studied, information on all factors could be obtained in only sixty-three neighborhoods. All neighborhoods were ranked; that is, arranged in order of favorability, according to each factor considered. The numerical rank of each neighborhood demonstrated its position in relation to the whole. The writer has selected from the tables prepared by the Community Council information pertaining to North End and West End. This information is tabulated on pp. 12-17. In each case the rank, or relative position in the total series, is given as well as the actual figures on which these ranks are based. For clarification, the number of neighborhoods ranked and the range, or upper and lower limits of the series, are included as well as the median figure for Boston as a whole.

A table is also given on p. 18 showing a comparison of North End and West End Health and Welfare Areas; this does not, of course, show the differences within the West End neighborhoods and includes census tract F6 in the North End.

Obviously the Beacon Hill Neighborhood contrasts sharply with the other neighborhoods, while North End and West End Proper are most similar, although there are also some dissimilarities here. While both are areas of extreme density of population and low economic status, it is most interesting to note that the North End has a noticeably high proportion of children under eighteen years of age. This is especially remarkable since North End lost 40% of its child population between 1930-40, while Boston as a whole

lost only 12.4%. While West End Proper has a lower proportion of children in the population, its population loss has been small. It is disturbing to note that these areas also rank low in regard to the percentage of the population between fourteen and twenty-one years of age who are in school attendance.

The high unemployment figures as well as high rates for receipt of Dependent Aid and Aid to Dependent Children is indicative of the economic insecurity in these areas. It will be noted that though the unemployment figures are for 1940, while the Aid to Dependent Children and Dependent Aid figures are for 1944, they reflect the same picture. The density of population and poor housing further substantiate this pattern.

TABLE II:

ADVANCED SCHOOLING AMONGST THE 1940 CENSUS
(PER CENT OF POPULATION FOURTEEN TO TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE ATTENDING SCHOOLS)

Neighborhood	Rank	Per cent
West End Proper	3	82.3
North End	4	78.1
Back of Beacon Hill	11	63.2
Beacon Hill	12	61.6

25 Neighborhoods Ranked
Range 37.5 - 100%
Median for Boston 68.4%

TABLES I - XI

A COMPARISON OF NORTH END AND WEST END NEIGHBORHOODS
According to figures compiled by the Greater Boston Community Council

TABLE I.

PER CENT OF POPULATION UNDER EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE
ACCORDING TO THE 1940 CENSUS

Neighborhood	Rank	Per cent
Beacon Hill	2	6.6
Back of Beacon Hill	9	15.3
West End Proper	25	26.3
North End	49.5	31.8
63 Neighborhoods Ranked		
Range 5.2 - 46.8%		
Median for Boston 26.4%		

TABLE II.

ADVANCED SCHOOLING ACCORDING TO THE 1940 CENSUS
(PER CENT OF POPULATION FOURTEEN TO TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE ATTENDING SCHOOL)

Neighborhood	Rank	Per cent
West End Proper	3	42.3
North End	4	45.1
Back of Beacon Hill	11	50.1
Beacon Hill	43	64.6
63 Neighborhoods Ranked		
Range 37.5 - 100%		
Median for Boston 58.4%		

TABLE III.

MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS ACCORDING TO THE 1940 CENSUS *

Neighborhood	Rank	Years
North End	2	5.7
West End Proper	6	7.5
Back of Beacon Hill	57	11.4
Beacon Hill	63	12.5

63 Neighborhoods Ranked
 Range 4.9 - 12.5 years
 Median for Boston 8.9 years

*The median number of school years completed by persons twenty-five years old or over.

TABLE IV.

UNEMPLOYMENT ACCORDING TO THE 1940 CENSUS *

Neighborhood	Rank	Per Cent
Beacon Hill	3.5	7.2
Back of Beacon Hill	22.5	16.5
West End Proper	45	23.6
North End	61	38.3

63 Neighborhoods Ranked
 Range 4.4 - 41.4%
 Median for Boston 19.8%

*Persons fourteen years of age and older who were members of the regular labor force and were unemployed at the time of the census.

TABLE V.

DEPENDENT AID AS OF MARCH 1944

Neighborhood	Rank	Rate*
Beacon Hill	13.5	1.1
Back of Beacon Hill	49	5.4
North End	54	8.5
West End Proper	55	10.7

63 Neighborhoods Ranked

Range 0.3 - 38.6

Median for Boston 4.5

*Cases per 1,000 population.

TABLE VI.

AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN AS OF MARCH 1944

Neighborhood	Rank	Rate*
Beacon Hill	4	0.9
Back of Beacon Hill	27	6.8
North End	46.5	13.8
West End Proper	50	16.2

63 Neighborhoods Ranked

Range 0.0 - 45.5

Median for Boston 10.6

*Cases per 1,000 households.

TABLE VII.

MEDIAN MONTHLY RENTS ACCORDING TO THE 1940 CENSUS

Neighborhood	Rank	Rents
North End	7	\$18.10
West End Proper	15	20.96
Back of Beacon Hill	51	36.63
Beacon Hill	62	57.95
63 Neighborhoods Ranked		
Range \$14.58 - \$68.11		
Median for Boston \$28.41		

TABLE VIII.

PER CENT OF RENTS UNDER \$25 ACCORDING TO THE 1940 CENSUS

Neighborhood	Rank	Per cent
Beacon Hill	5	4.0
Back of Beacon Hill	33	33.7
West End Proper	49	67.1
North End	57	82.1
63 Neighborhoods Ranked		
Range 1.7 - 95.7%		
Median for Boston 37.3%		

TABLE IX.

POPULATION DENSITY ACCORDING TO THE 1940 CENSUS

Neighborhood	Rank	Persons per Acre
Beacon Hill	36	148.9
Back of Beacon Hill	59	441.0
West End Proper	61	557.0
North End	63	996.0

63 Neighborhoods Ranked

Range 20.4 - 996.0 persons per acre

Median for Boston 94.5 persons per acre

TABLE X.

PER CENT OF CROWDED HOUSEHOLDS*, ACCORDING TO THE 1940 CENSUS

Neighborhood	Rank	Per Cent
Beacon Hill	23	2.0
Back of Beacon Hill	31	2.6
West End Proper	58	6.5
North End	66	16.4

67 Neighborhoods Ranked

Range 0.2 - 18.2%

Median for Boston 3.9%

*According to the census classification a crowded household is one where there is more than 1.5 persons per room.

TABLE XI.

PER CENT OF DWELLING UNITS WITHOUT PRIVATE BATH OR FLUSH TOILET
ACCORDING TO THE 1940 CENSUS

Neighborhood	Rank	Per Cent
Beacon Hill	23	2.7
Back of Beacon Hill	37.5	7.4
West End Proper	47.5	19.4
North End	67	89.9
67 Neighborhoods Ranked		
Range 0.2 - 89.9%		
Median for Boston 13.9%		

TABLE XII.

COMPARISON NORTH END AND WEST END HEALTH AND WELFARE AREAS
ACCORDING TO 1940 CENSUS FIGURES^a

Factors	West End	North End
Population	27,278.00	19,698.00
Decrease in population, per cent of	2.70	29.20
Number of households	7,484.00	4,593.00
Persons under eighteen	5,676.00	5,970.00
Children under eighteen per household	0.80	1.30
Persons per inhabited acre	369.70	924.30
Median monthly rents	\$25.75	\$18.39
Monthly rents under \$25.00, per cent of	46.80	79.50
Predominant type of house	multi-family	multi-family
Per cent of home ownership	7.80	6.00
Per cent of overcrowding ^b	4.50	15.80
Per cent seeking work or on work relief	18.20	36.40
Leading occupational group	clerical	operatives & laborers
Median School years completed	8.80	6.30

^a Source: Greater Boston Community Council^b According to the census classification "overcrowding" indicates more than 1.5 person per room.

CHAPTER IV

CHILD LABORGeneral Survey

The control of child labor has been a bitter struggle; advances have been slow and highly contested, and emancipation is still not complete. There has been stubborn opposition from those who employed children and from poverty stricken parents who thought the sacrifice of their children necessary. In the early days of our country the presence of working children was also due to the lack of any recognized activities or established facilities of other sorts, and idleness was considered sinful. However, the spread of public education focused attention on the working child.

The first and continuing argument for curtailment of working hours and raising the minimum age was that education was necessary in a democracy and working children could not attend school.¹

Also the conviction that schools should be adapted to meet the needs of all children has been a most important factor in the liberation of the working child.

Massachusetts led in providing schools and in the enactment of compulsory education laws, but complete free public education, including college and professional training, developed most rapidly in the middle and far west. The difficulty has been to bring child labor and compulsory education laws into harmony so that each would reinforce the other. The struggle for effective administration continues.

¹ Grace Abbott, The Child and the State, p. 262.

Regulation has remained primarily with the states though efforts have been made toward uniform standards through federal legislation. Various federal measures have been declared unconstitutional, and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 is the chief federal means of regulation. This applies only to children engaged in the production of goods coming under the jurisdiction of interstate commerce; this does not include interstate commerce as a whole, and efforts to broaden this legislation have failed to date. An amendment to the federal constitution was passed by congress in 1924, but lacks ratification by the necessary thirty-six states. Nevertheless, during the past twenty years the following program has developed:

1. Tendency to raise the general age for employment from fourteen to sixteen years of age.
2. Legislation requiring demonstration of physical fitness for employment and, when the minimum age is less than sixteen, completion of the eighth grade.
3. Eight-hour day and forty-eight hour week for the first two years of employment and prohibition of night work for young persons under sixteen years of age.
4. Prohibition of employment of young persons under eighteen or twenty-one in hazardous occupations.²

Of the greatest importance was the development of adequate employment certificate systems to prevent the employment of children under legal age and to protect employers who wished to obey the law.

The foremost agencies working for child labor reform have been (1) labor unions, especially the AFL, who first took up the cudgel, though not for humanitarian reasons, (2) The National Consumers League, formed in 1899, (3) The National Child Labor Committee, formed in 1904, (4) The Children's Bureau, formed in 1912. The Industrial Division of the Children's

² Ibid., pp. 268-269.

Bureau is concerned with the development and promotion of child labor standards, the administration of child labor laws, research, and acts in a consultative and advisory capacity. It has taken the leadership in directing the attention of the country to the needs of children.

The stipulations of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 have had a wide area of influence regardless of the limited direct application. It has set sixteen as the basic minimum age for employment, although the employment of children fourteen to sixteen may be permitted under conditions specified by the Children's Bureau, and the employment of minors sixteen to eighteen may be regulated. Minors under eighteen may not be employed in certain hazardous occupations. These hazardous occupations are defined and investigated by the Children's Bureau. The seven hazardous occupation areas that have been defined to date are: manufacture of explosives, motor vehicles and helpers, coal mining, logging and saw milling, power driven woodworking, exposure to radio-active substances, work around power-driven hoisting apparatus. This federal legislation has given impetus to state legislation.

Though the war years brought pressure to relax child labor laws, by 1945 there was an upsurge of interest in regulation because the demand for workers was slackening and the demand for young workers had pointed up gaps in coverage and other inadequacies, so that there was a growing public realization of the lacks in the laws, and definite efforts on the part of organizations and individuals to obtain improvement. In 1945 there were improvements in state child labor laws, workmen's compensation laws as they affect illegally employed minors, and a continuation of the trend toward compulsory school attendance. However, by April 1946 there were still more than twice as many minors working as in the spring of 1940. As of April 1946

there were three-fourths of a million, or 16% of the total, fourteen and fifteen year old children employed, and one and one-half million, or 33% of the total, sixteen and seventeen year old minors employed.³ There were many thousands under fourteen also at work. Further, it was found that though the demand for young workers decreased, the proportion of younger workers increased faster than the older ones. As the employment situation tightens, it becomes more important than ever that the kinds of jobs open to youth be known since trends toward lower wages and poorer working conditions are possible.

As stated previously, regulation remains primarily with the states, and this has resulted in great variation in standards. Only sixteen of the forty-eight states follow the two basic requirements of (1) no employment of children under sixteen in mining and manufacturing, and (2) no gainful employment under sixteen during school hours. The southern states are still the worst offenders, although there are several notable exceptions. Especially outstanding is the new Georgia law, passed in January 1946. Of prime importance throughout the country is the need to back up the standards with the use of the employment certificate and factory inspection service.

Local Scene

In Massachusetts, though regulation tends toward the basic standards mentioned above, children under sixteen may be employed during school hours under special conditions. Special employment permits are issued by local school authorities to cover these conditions which are as follows:

For non-wage-earning employment at home during school hours.

³ Beatrice McConnell, "Child Labor and Youth Employment in the First Year of Peace", Social Service Review, 20:57, March 1947.

For private domestic service or service on farms during school hours.

For employment in cooperating establishments of pupils over fourteen enrolled in cooperative courses in public schools (part of training in school, part on the job).

For other employment where, in the discretion of the superintendent of schools, the child's welfare will be better served by granting a permit.

The issuance of these permits is dependent on proof of physical fitness as well as a promise of employment and evidence of age. Completion of the sixth grade is also required, but may be waived for work outside school hours, or if the child's best interests will be served thereby. These permits are issued only after thoughtful consideration by the school superintendent, who, in Boston, is trying to hold the minimum age to fifteen years four months.

Employment permits are also required for fourteen-sixteen year old children when schools are not in session. For resume of the issuance of employment permits in Boston for the years 1945-46 and 1946-47, see Table XIII, p. 25.

Full-time school attendance is required of children between seven and sixteen except those:

Fourteen and fifteen who have completed the sixth grade, who hold a permit for employment in private domestic service or service on a farm, and who are regularly employed for at least six hours a day.

Fourteen and fifteen who have completed the sixth grade and have written permission of the town superintendent of school to engage in non-wage earning employment at home.

Children not under fourteen who are granted employment permits by the superintendent of school where in his discretion he determines that the welfare of such children will be better served through the granting of such permit.

Special exceptions, such as for religious education, or on account of physical or mental incapacity.

Continuation school attendance is required of children between fourteen and sixteen regularly employed on certificate, or temporarily unemployed, or excused for employment at home on home permit. Attendance is required four hours a week for employed children (twenty hours a week if unemployed) between eight a.m. and five p.m. on school days.

The certifying system is not only important in relation to school attendance, but also as a means of regulating the type of employment and verifying the age of the employed minor. The restrictions on the type of employment open to children under sixteen is particularly strict and for minors under eighteen takes in a fairly comprehensive list of hazardous occupations. In addition to the permits mentioned above, "education certificates" are required for the employment of minors between sixteen and twenty-one years of age. These certificates are of two types, (1) the regular certificate for minors who have completed the sixth grade and who are not required to attend evening school, and (2) the special certificate for those who are required to attend evening school since they have not completed the sixth grade. No proof of physical fitness is required in either case. For a resume of the issuance of these certificates during the years 1945-46 and 1946-47, see Table XIV, p.26 .

Massachusetts, like other states, felt the wartime demand for young workers, but the Boston certificating office believes that control has returned to the pre-war level. This is borne out by figures quoted to the writer by the certificating office as follows:

TABLE XIII.

NUMBER OF EMPLOYMENT PERMITS ISSUED TO WORKING CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE FOR TWO YEARS
(Under Acts of 1913, Chapter 799)*

Months	1945-46		1946-47	
	New	Re-issue	New	Re-issue
Sep.	255	245	307	228
Oct.	362	370	445	276
Nov.	350	278	260	196
Dec.	281	280	261	164
Jan.	172	206	146	108
Feb.	156	128	110	81
Mar.	249	214	121	93
Apr.	305	277	175	148
May	395	250	199	118
June	756	387	386	155
July	729	360	305	98
Aug.	276	144	169	50
Total	4,286	3,139	2,884	1,715

* Source: Boston Public Schools Document #6, Annual Statistics of Boston Public Schools, School Year 1946-47. Boston, 1947, p. 39.

TABLE XIV.

NUMBER OF EDUCATIONAL CERTIFICATES ISSUED TO WORKING CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE FOR TWO YEARS
(Under Acts of 1913, Chapter 799) *

Months	Evening School, Attendance Not Required		Evening School, Attendance Compulsory			
	1945-46		1946-47		1945-46	
	New	Re-issue	New	Re-issue	New	Re-issue
Sep.	357	2,992	575	3,157	-	3
Oct.	463	3,125	585	3,096	4	2
Nov.	480	2,715	480	2,368	2	2
Dec.	372	1,967	392	2,036	1	1
Jan.	312	2,348	301	2,118	2	3
Feb.	372	1,967	232	1,706	1	1
Mar.	365	2,261	280	1,879	3	-
Apr.	385	2,506	315	1,931	5	3
May	369	2,541	351	2,054	-	-
June	672	3,164	604	2,270	5	2
July	848	3,092	570	2,028	5	3
Aug.	460	2,485	395	1,837	2	2
Total	5,455	31,163	5,080	26,480	30	22
					102	28

* Source: Boston Public Schools Document #6, Annual Statistics of Boston Public Schools, School Year 1946-47. Boston, 1947, p. 39.

TABLE XV.

TOTAL EMPLOYMENT CERTIFICATES ISSUED TO MINORS 14 TO 21
YEARS OF AGE, 1941-1947

Year	No. Certificate
1941	39,287
1942	60,710
1943	72,208
1944	63,337
1945	53,994
1946	45,525
1947	35,392

The above figures include part-time employment outside of school hours; the method of reporting figures makes it impossible to determine how many are working in addition to school and how many have left school.

Most difficult to regulate is the employment of minors in street trades. The minimum age is twelve for boys and eighteen for girls. Badges are required for boys twelve to sixteen. Such badges may be refused if boys are found physically or mentally incompetent or unable to do such work in addition to regular school attendance required by law. The badges remain in force four years, or until age sixteen. As of August 31, 1945 there were in Boston 2,696 badges in force⁴ distributed as follows:

⁴ Boston Public School Document #12, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools, for School Year ending August 1945. Boston: 1945, p. 60.

Bootblacks	1,380
Newsboys	1,311
Peddlers	5

These figures may be compared to the badges issued within the year:⁵

TABLE XVI.

STREET TRADE BADGES ISSUED IN BOSTON
SEPTEMBER 1, 1944 - AUGUST 31, 1945

Type of Trade	New	Re-issued	Total
Newsboy	379	23	402
Bootblacks	419	39	458
Peddlers	4	--	4
Total	802	62	864

During the same period 573 violations⁶ were heard; while this is a large number in comparison with the number of badges in force and indicates a real effort at control, nevertheless many violations no doubt go unnoticed because this type of employment is inherently difficult to control.

The hours of work for all minors are limited to forty-eight hours per week, six days a week. However, a nine-hour day is permitted for minors sixteen and over. Night work is prohibited for children under sixteen, and limited for minors over sixteen.

The burden of the responsibility for the administration of child labor restrictions and educational requirements rests with the school department of attendance (the certificating office is part of this department). This department is charged with monthly follow-up of home permits; inspection of

⁵ Ibid., p. 61.

⁶ Ibid., p. 59.

factories, work shops, and other places employing minors fourteen to twenty-one years of age; the inspection of theaters; the investigation of individual truancy. In 1945 the department consisted of one head supervisor and thirty-two supervisors. Though in the year 1944-45 they made 78,207 investigations⁷, it would not seem that the staff is adequate for the undertaking. In addition to the above activities the supervisor of attendance reports having 214 conferences with probation officers, health units, hospital, and social and charitable organizations, to promote the interests and best welfare of the children. The Family Society was among the eighteen agencies named.

The Massachusetts law provides for an extensive certifying system with special emphasis on regulation of employment of children fourteen to sixteen years of age and allows for greater range of employment opportunities as the minor approaches his majority. The greatest difficulty and weakness is in regard to administration. Regardless of the close relationship between work and school, the school authorities seem to be accepting more than their responsibility. It would seem that this field belongs more properly to the labor department.

Although much has been done in the child labor field, much can still be done and it is well to remember that "a social administration of a law is the reasonable forerunner of a better law".⁸

⁷ Ibid., p. 43.

⁸ Abbott, op. cit., p. 43.

CHAPTER V.

BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The following statistics are according to the report of the annual statistics of Boston Public Schools, 1946-47, except when noted otherwise. School attendance is compulsory for all young persons between the ages of seven and sixteen except as discussed under the caption of "Child Labor" in this paper.

Population

The total registration in all schools (day and evening) during the school year 1946-47 was 109,940¹. This was 748 less than the preceding year. There has been a steady decline in Boston school population since 1938. It is not known to what extent this reflects the wartime employment situation, since the proportion of school-age children in the population seems to be decreasing. This decrease in school population was evident prior to the war and recent developments have been away from the employment of young persons - the slackening in the demand for young workers and the tightening of child labor controls; the Boston School Committee's "back to school" program which is thought to be effective. However, a review of the 1946-47 statistics shows what appears to be a shift in school population indicating that employment is still causing many withdrawals from regular day schools, and is swelling the ranks of evening, continuation, and special schools. See Table XVIII, p. 32.

¹ See Table XVII, p.31 for distribution of enrollment.

TABLE XVII.

DISTRIBUTION OF BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, SCHOOL YEAR 1946-47*

School	No. of Pupils
Regular Day Schools	102,547
Teachers College	282
High and Latin Schools (19 schools)	23,252
Junior High Schools	18,182
Grades 1-6	47,494
Kindergartens	9,264
Special Schools	4,073
Evening Schools (14 schools)	6,375
Continuation Schools	559
Day School for Immigrants	459
Total School Enrollment	109,940

* Source: Boston Public Schools Document #6, Annual Statistics of
 Boston Public Schools, School Year 1946-1947. Boston, 1947,
 pp. 5, 7.

TABLE XVIII.

BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
COMPARISON 1945-46 REGISTRATIONS TO 1946-47*

School	Decrease	Increase	Difference
Teachers College		10	
High and Latin Schools	516		
Junior High Schools	1,800		
Elementary Schools	439		
Kindergartens		825	
Continuation School		278	
Special Schools		611	
Evening Schools		231	
Day School for Immigrants		52	
Total	2,755	2,007	-278

*Source: Boston Public School Document #6, Annual Statistics of
Boston Public Schools, School Year 1946-1947. Boston, 1947,
p. 5.

The decrease in annual registration is particularly noteworthy in regard to children living in the North and West End districts, which is the area encompassed in the case studies of this paper. One elementary school in the West End was closed in 1939, and two elementary schools in North End were combined in 1943. As of September 30, 1938, the combined elementary and junior high school enrollment for these districts was 5,264, while it was only 2,614 on September 30, 1946. Attendance in other schools is not listed according to district.

In addition to the year-to-year decrease there is in general a decrease of enrollment within the year. While the average membership for 1946-47 in all day schools was 93,482 the enrollment as of June 30, 1947 (the end of the term) was only 92,044.

According to the Strayer Report of 1944 only about 61% of those who start high school finish², and although a few transfer to vocational and other special schools the majority go to work. The Strayer Report based its conclusions on the school statistics of 1940-41, since succeeding years were thought to be atypical due to the war. However, it was admitted that the 1944 statistics were substantially the same as those of 1940, and this seems to hold true for succeeding years. According to this report the Boston secondary schools were not, in a normal year, meeting the education needs of many older youths. See Table XIX, p. 34.

² Strayer, George D., Report of a Survey of the Public Schools of Boston, Massachusetts. Conducted under the Auspices of the Finance Commission of the City of Boston. Boston: 1944, p. 534.

TABLE XIX.

ENROLLMENT IN BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO AGE,
SCHOOL TERM 1940-41*

Age	Total in School	Per cent
19	708	5.2
18	2,359	17.4
17	6,187	48.4
16	10,656	80.7
15	12,301	97.4
14	12,259	98.7
13	12,095	96.3
12	12,299	97.0

* Source: Strayer, George D., Report of a Survey of the Public Schools of Boston, Massachusetts. Boston, 1944, p. 534.

TABLE XX.

POPULATION OF SPECIAL SCHOOLS, BOSTON, 1943-1947*
(As of Sept. 30th, Each Year)

School	Population				
	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947
Boston Trade High School	946	950	960	1,124	1,140
Trade High School for Girls	315	303	217	228	303
Horace Mann School (for deaf)	133	133	123	119	109
Boston Clerical School	155	149	204	223	238
M. Gertrude Godvin School (disciplinary)	167	193	173	101	115
Brandeis School (vocational)	394	373	431	432	510
Special Program for Adults				732	173
School for Veterans					191
Training School for Teachers of Mechanical Arts					41
Total Population	2,110	2,101	2,108	2,959	2,820

* Source: Boston Public Schools Document #6, Annual Statistics of Boston Public Schools, School Year 1946-1947. Boston, 1947, p. 44.

Special Schools

Boston has four clerical, vocational, and trade schools. For the population of these schools as well as other special schools, see Table XX, p. 35.

Bureau of Child Accounting

This bureau was organized December 4, 1939. During the school term 1944-45 it had a personnel of sixty-three and by 1946-47 this number had decreased by one. It consists of the following five departments:

1. Department of Attendance with the Certificating Office and Supervisor of Licensed Minors.
2. Division of Statistics and Publicity.
3. Department of Educational Investigation and Measurement.
4. Department of Vocational Guidance, including the Division of Employment.
5. Division of Juvenile Adjustment.

The purpose of the Bureau is to act as a child guidance clinic bringing together principal, teacher, parent, guidance counselor, supervisor of attendance, psychologist, and physician. However,

many cases do not come to the attention of the Bureau until they are more or less chronic. This is usually because so many factors contribute to or are associated with so-called behavior problems that it is impossible to isolate them until they become rather pronounced.³

The Department of Attendance has been reported on in this paper under the heading "Child Labor". The activity of the Division of Statistics and

³ Boston Public School Document #12, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools, for School Year ending August 1945. Boston: 1945, p. 36. (This is the last such report published to date.)

Publicity is obvious.

The Department of Investigation and Measurement is

striving to demonstrate to teachers and principals that mental readiness rather than apparent achievement make for better school adjustment not only from a social point of view, but also scholastically if attention is given to individual needs. Elementary and intermediate schools which have accepted this philosophy are finding few behavior and truancy problems.⁴

The Department of Vocational Guidance made 10,005 job placements during the period September 8, 1943 to August 31, 1944.⁵ Of these placements 1,721 were permanent, 4,410 were temporary, and 3,874 were part-time. This department works in close cooperation with the Division of Juvenile Adjustment.

The Division of Juvenile Adjustment, formed in 1943, is the most recent development of child service in the Bureau.

The appointment of adjustment workers marks a forward step in solving behavioristic and social problems in the schools ... the department is endeavoring to coordinate all types of social service in the schools around the child. It complements the work of the other departments in the bureau. It provides for the full use of community resources and social agencies in the control of maladjustment. It has contacts and cooperates with the police and courts whenever their services can be helpful. It is making investigations and studies into the cause of maladjustment in the schools. It is establishing a clearing house of information on problems of maladjustment for use of officers of the school system.⁶

The work of this department is, however, limited because of the limited number of personnel. During the year 1944-45 they felt they could only handle emergency cases, but did handle 264 boys and 198 girls. Most of the referrals were made by the schools, although sixty-three girls were referred

⁴ Ibid., p. 48.

⁵ Ibid., p. 55.

⁶ Ibid., p. 48.

by policewomen. Sixteen children were referred by social agencies, and there was even one child who referred himself. The majority of the cases came from ten schools only.

There is no question as to the importance of the work of the Bureau of Child Accounting, and that its organization is forward looking, but like many other educational facilities, its work seems to be hampered by a dearth of money and personnel.

The purpose of the agency is to promote sound family life through case work. The main objective is to serve the client, and this is accomplished within the framework of the need as the client sees it. Although his need may be broader and deeper than he recognizes, and he may be helped to see his need on this level, treatment is limited to the amount of help the client can and will use. The client is the motivating factor, the social worker, the catalytic agent. Thus the client may not see his need as being other than financial; however, the agency's main interest is in clients who can use casework help constructively. The function of the agency does not include the giving of maintenance relief since this is the function of a public agency, but special needs for assistance, such as educational and vocational training, are considered.

Since the family is a unit and the interrelationships are so very important, the worker may work with several members of the family to promote better adjustment of one member or better relations between the several members. However, as stated above, it depends upon the person's willingness to accept help. That a child may be helped only indirectly by help given to a parent, and on rare occasions, the child may be the only member of the family seen. But only if contact with the agency is voluntary, but the agency does not contact outside sources of information without the client's

CHAPTER VI.

SOCIAL AGENCIESPrivate Agency - Family Society of Greater Boston

This is the agency in which the writer has had her field placement this year, and the philosophy of the agency in regard to the subject under consideration is reported on as she has seen it in operation.

The purpose of the agency is to promote sound family life through casework. The main objective is to serve the client, and this necessitates working within the framework of the need as the client sees it. Although his need may be broader and deeper than he recognizes, and he may be helped to see his need on this level, treatment is limited to the amount of help the client can and will use. The client is the motivating factor, the social worker the catalytic agent. Thus the client may not see his need as being other than financial; however, the agency's main interest is in clients who can use casework help constructively. The function of the agency does not include the giving of maintenance relief since this is the function of a public agency, but special needs for assistance, such as educational and vocational training, are considered.

Since the family is a unit and the interrelationships are so very important, the worker may work with several members of the family to promote better adjustment of one member or better relation between the several members. However, as stated above, it depends upon the person's willingness to accept help. Thus a child may be helped only indirectly by help given to a parent, and on rare occasions, the child may be the only member of the family seen. Not only is contact with the agency voluntary, but the agency does not contact outside sources of information without the client's

consent (the agency policy does provide for exceptions, but these are not especially applicable to this study). Thus the school would not be contacted without the client's consent, and if contacted, the exchange of information would be limited to a specific purpose. Strict confidentiality of information is maintained, and the client is the prime source of information. There seems to be some misunderstanding and lack of acceptance of this policy on the part of the community although confidentiality is a basic concept of casework.

A poor school record is due either to physical or mental limitations, or is evidence of maladjustment. The Family Society is concerned primarily with the attitude of the child toward his total life situation; this would, of course, include his school adjustment as well as his attitude toward economic dependency. The agency strives to develop healthy attitudes which will foster growth and development. This development is, of course, dependent upon individual capacity, but the object is to enable the client to obtain the maximum satisfactions within his limitations. The agency maintains a vocational guidance department where careful personal evaluations are made and job possibilities discussed; this is not, however, an employment office.

While economic dependency may make the adjustment of both parents and children more difficult, its importance is dependent upon its meaning to the individual - the meaning of money to the person and the effect on emotional dependency. The emphasis in the Family Society is therefore on the individual rather than on the economic dependence. The same principle applies in relation to education and the child's decision regarding employment. This does not mean that the importance of education and economic needs can be

overlooked, but it is the individual handling of these problems that is stressed in the Family Society.

Public Agency - Aid to Dependent Children

Since the administration of the Aid to Dependent Children program has a direct bearing on the problem under consideration, the writer interviewed Miss Mary Cotter, Director of Social Service, Department of Public Welfare, Boston. For questions discussed see schedule in appendix. Through the interview Miss Cotter emphasized the family as a unit. All members of the family are included in the ADC budget, and consequently the Massachusetts grants appear considerably larger than those of other states where the grants are limited to the children only. The organization of this program around the family rather than just the child came about because in 1913 Massachusetts initiated a program of Mother's Aid which included the entire family and which continued until changed to the present ADC program. The modification was made to meet the requirements set up by the federal government under the Social Security Administration.

Under the Massachusetts law the public agency may grant aid only when "suitable homes" are maintained; they therefore assume the responsibility for the child receiving "suitable care". Miss Cotter spoke of this as "giving the child a chance". Because of their responsibility to the child, they do personally contact the child, but their principal contact is with the mother since she is the family manager.

Miss Cotter thought that the families on ADC were representative of a cross section of the community. Although she mentioned the physical and cultural differences which exist in the various neighborhoods and recognized there was greater emphasis on education in some areas than in others, she

declined to comment on the problems in any particular neighborhood, such as North West End. She was inclined to discount school-leaving as a problem, stating that the completion of high school was the accepted pattern. The agency does check on the school record of children through a formal report which is sent regularly and automatically by the school to the agency. When this report is poor, it is discussed with the mother since it is believed that the mother has the first responsibility and that she should have the opportunity of handling the problem before it is turned back to the school or other appropriate agency for action. Another reason for postponing such referral is because of consideration for other children in the family.

Miss Cotter was very much opposed to any agency pressure in relation to the child's leaving school or taking employment and did not think the ADC workers were guilty of such pressure. This also applied to taking after-school employment. She did not believe that the children of families receiving ADC in any way differed from other children. Most especially she did not believe that the economic factor would necessitate a child leaving school or cause maladjustment while he was in attendance. She felt that the state budget used in computing grants of aid was adequate and that the money was on the whole intelligently handled.

ADC is now regularly continued until the child's eighteenth birthday if the child continues in school. Even in instances when a child is not making an adequate adjustment in one school, arrangements are made for transfer to another type of school so that the child may have the maximum opportunity for education. If a child completed high school prior to the age of eighteen and wished to go on to college, ADC could be continued until the child's eighteenth birthday, although special expenses such as tuition

could not be met.

In regard to cooperation between public and private agencies, Miss Cotter thought that there was some mutual lack of understanding although this had not been a problem to date. She suggested joint discussion of programs and problems as a means of facilitating the work of the several agencies.

2. What is the meaning to this family and child of the work of the school, education, or in a child too young to work, the meaning of the school situation in relation to his dependent status?

3. What is the place of emotional dependency in this problem?

4. How was the problem recognized and handled by the agency?

These cases include all cases in the agency where there was a problem of school adjustment as well as economic dependency during the 1945-1947 school term. In all of the cases the agency contact with the child continued of more than one interview; some of the cases were opened prior to the 1945-1947 school term, some were closed during that period, and some continued to be active after that period. The small number of cases must be considered in relation to the agency setting. The Family Society of Greater Boston is working away from the field of financial assistance and the object of the agency is to promote sound family life through casework treatment; therefore, treatment is not necessarily captured on the card. In addition only one district of the Family Society is considered; the total disclosed during the period under consideration was 213.

CHAPTER VII

CASE STUDIESIntroduction

The eight cases included in this paper were studied in relation to the following questions:

1. What pressures are brought to bear on a child because of economic dependency so that he is unable to make a satisfactory school adjustment?
2. What is the meaning to both family and child of the work vs. school situation, or in a child too young to work, the meaning of the school situation in relation to his dependent status?
3. What is the place of emotional dependency in this problem?
4. How was the problem recognized and handled by the agency?

These cases include all cases in the agency where there was a problem of school adjustment as well as economic dependency during the 1946-1947 school term. In all of the cases the agency contact with the client consisted of more than one interview; some of the cases were opened prior to the 1946-1947 school term, some were closed during that period, and some continued to be active after that period. The small number of cases must be considered in relation to the agency setting. The Family Society of Greater Boston is tending away from the field of financial assistance and the object of the agency is to promote sound family life through casework treatment; therefore, treatment is not necessarily centered on the child. In addition only one district of the Family Society is considered; the total caseload during the period under consideration was 203.

Classification

The eight cases studied have been classified according to the child's main attitude toward the environment of economic insufficiency and dependency in which he has been caught.

These attitudes have been divided into two classifications: (1) aggressiveness; (2) passivity. It is recognized that within these broad classifications there are many gradations as well as types of reactions. It is also recognized that within each person there is some of each of these conflicting attitudes, and the person does not always respond with the same attitude; however, on the whole, one or the other predominates, and the cases studied divided themselves evenly between the two classifications. In the first four cases to be presented the children's reactions were mainly those of aggression. In some instances the aggression was generalized, in others it was confined to emotional outbursts, but in all, the main pattern was that of aggressive defiance. In the latter four cases the children did not dare defiance to the same extent. While passivity is in itself a type of defense mechanism, it also indicates an unwillingness or inability to deal with the problem. And withdrawal is a very dangerous escape mechanism. In the last case in the second classification several children were known to the agency and both aggression and passivity are illustrated. The child best known to the agency was principally passive.

The classification was based on the children's adjustment at the time of referral. Treatment is discussed in each case presentation and in the summary and conclusions.

CASE STUDIES

Aggression

Case 1: This family, known to the Family Society between February 1944 and September 1946 and since May 1947, consists of young parents and their three children. The children are three boys, aged four, seven, and nine. The oldest boy, David, has exhibited considerable difficult behavior and his school adjustment is poor.

Mrs. F's original application to Family Society was for relief, and the agency did assist her; she was then separated from her husband. Mr. and Mrs. F. were later reconciled, but the marriage is not a very sound one. Through her contact with Family Society, however, Mrs. F. gained insight into her problem and settled down to build what she could from the marriage. However, she continued to be anxious about finances as well as insecure in her relationship with her husband.

Mr. F. is quite unstable and has difficulty handling responsibility; he was never employed prior to his marriage and has worked only irregularly since; the family has received some type of aid intermittently since the beginning of their marriage. Mrs. F. also worked from time to time, and the children were placed in foster homes. The worker felt that Mrs. F. did neglect the children while they were in foster homes, but that she had real feeling for them. There was some question as to Mr. F's feeling for the children, and at one time he claimed that only David was his child. Mrs. F. has not worked since her last pregnancy, and Mr. F. has recently supported the family, although the income is rather irregular as well as inadequate.

David's behavior indicated some insecurity prior to his beginning school, but after starting school it became more and more disturbed. He truanted almost from the beginning and stayed out late in the evenings, stating that he was afraid to go home because his father would punish him. In school he did not perform up to the level of which he seemed capable. He was restless and inattentive and excessively mischievous. His teacher was changed and the truanting stopped, but his behavior did not improve. He was masturbating, lying, stealing small change. His mother helped him with his school work, and he was conditionally passed to the second grade. He has appeared twice before the juvenile court, once for stealing and once in connection with breaking a window. He first came alone to the Family Society to ask for money; he then began to see the worker regularly until referral was recently made to a guidance clinic; he has continued to see the psychiatrist and particularly likes the gifts the psychiatrist gives him. He still occasionally calls to see the Family Society worker. A reading disability was discovered by the guidance clinic; there were no school facilities in the district available to meet this need, but referral was made to another community resource.

David first felt the effect of economic dependency when he was placed

in foster homes and neglected by his mother who was burdened by financial responsibility. When he was returned to his mother the financial situation was acute, the environment was strange, he had to share whatever affection his mother could give with siblings and with his father who was in the home intermittently and was unwilling to accept responsibility for the family. Thus a weak father and a harassed, over-anxious mother who had every reason to reject her children could not meet this boy's needs, and he was not ready to move out to a satisfactory school adjustment. Since he was compelled to go to school, he met a hostile world with hostility and aggression; in this way he tried to compensate for his feelings of deprivation and of inferiority.

David has felt the family's economic insecurity and dependence mainly indirectly through the attitudes of his parents whose limited capacities to meet his need were decreased by their preoccupation with the economic situation. It is interesting to note that David came alone to the Family Society and asked for money. This aggressive, materialistic approach is also evident in his relationship with the psychiatrist. While this may be indicative of psychopathic tendencies, the super-ego development would normally be weak in view of the child's age, and retarded because of the poor home environment. Furthermore the relationships within the family would cause the child to attach an undue importance on the value of money.

The child's and the mother's desire for help is encouraging. The agency was helpful in recognizing their needs and offering acceptance, reassurance, and support. This was important to the mother, who was herself a very insecure person, because she gained some insight into her problem and was better able to accept her situation and to plan constructively.

She was then freer to give more of herself to her children. Her extreme anxiety was also alleviated by the agency's giving of financial assistance.

David's need for acceptance and affection is tremendous and he apparently found satisfaction in his relationship with the caseworker. However, his problems were so severe and deep-seated that psychiatric help was enlisted and accepted by David.

The agency did try to reach the father, but though he came to the office several times, the contact was not successful.

Case 2: This colored family was known to the Family Society in 1932, 1936-37, and 1946-47. The family was very secretive, and it was difficult to get a clear picture of the family and its status. The step-father, who was always unemployed and apparently alcoholic, was in the home only occasionally. There were five children and the illegitimate daughter of Violet, one of the daughters, but all of the children left home except Ann, the youngest, born in 1930, and Violet and her child. Mrs. L. always claimed insufficient funds although she received public aid continuously. Mrs. L., who lost her eyesight in 1943, received Blind Aid, and Violet received ADC for herself and child. However, Mrs. L. asked for further help from the Family Society. In investigating the family's needs, contact was made with Ann, who in 1946 was sixteen, in the third year of high school, and having difficulties with her studies. Her mother was very sympathetic toward her and felt it too bad that Ann had to study so hard, but Mrs. L. was very dependent because of her eyesight and took up a lot of Ann's time. Ann, however, expressed no hostility toward her mother and insisted that Violet took a lot of responsibility at home.

Ann claimed that, on account of her heavy school program and her need to help her mother, she could not take a job to help provide for her school expenses, and Family Society did provide some clothing. She had been on the honor roll until her third year in high school, and then her grades slumped rather badly although she claimed she studied until late at night. Her attitude was on the surface cheerful, but aggressiveness was her most outstanding characteristic. She thought she owed it to her family and race to get ahead, and thought of herself as champion of the people; she wanted to be a doctor. She joined many clubs in which she participated actively, being unable to sit back and let the others do the work.

After the relationship with the worker was established, she admitted that her school troubles were caused by the mental turmoil she felt rather than the content of her courses. She was unable to concentrate and kept herself excessively busy with social activities to relieve her anxiety, but she also recognized that that didn't help. She was unable to explain the reason for her anxiety although she thought that adolescence had something to do with it, but she didn't think that was the whole story. She seemed to spend much time in phantasy and enjoyed recounting these to the worker; in fact, took up much of the time in this manner. It was necessary to change workers as the first worker left the agency, and Ann did not form a relationship with the new worker. She was quite hostile and claimed her only problem was how she was going to manage her clothing needs during the remainder of school since her family was in no position to help her. When relief was refused, she broke contact with the agency. It was later learned that she had taken an after-school job, though no particulars were learned.

Ann's problems seem to have come to a climax with adolescence. While not much is known of the family background, it appears not to have offered much in the way of either emotional or economic security. Her mother, Mrs. L., a predominantly passive, dependent person, handicapped by blindness, apparently exerted little family control and offered little real affection, although she unwittingly made extra demands on Ann and thereby increased the girl's burden. Ann tried to project her difficulties on the difficult school program, but was able to recognize that her school troubles were due primarily to the turmoil she felt within herself.

Ann's problem was further complicated by the fact that she was a member of a minority group which is frequently discriminated against. This increased her need and drive for prestige. At the same time this drive for prestige was accompanied by such feelings of personal inferiority, caused by her home environment and economic insecurity, that she was unable to face the situation realistically. She was actually very confused and fearful though she tried to camouflage this with her aggressive, hostile attitude. Her unrealistic approach is evident in her desire to be a doctor, although

her high school grades were poor. She tried unsuccessfully to relieve her anxiety through activity and fantasy, and her unrealistic attitude carried over to the casework situation, and she seemed unable to make use of help. Her recounting of her fantasies might parallel her understanding of the psychoanalytic situation. She interpreted the agency's lack of financial help as a form of pressure and responded with hostility.

Though Mrs. L. would have liked the girl to be successful, she seemed to lack real interest. The girl thus lacked prestige in her own family as well as in society and had a drive to correct her status. Nevertheless, she seemed to avoid responsibility and to seek satisfactions in more infantile ways. Because she was so rejecting of reality, the agency could offer little real help, although her needs were recognized.

It is the girl's confusion and lack of adjustment to a very difficult environment situation, including the economic situation, that is reflected in her school record. Adolescence caused these problems to have new meaning and importance because she was approaching an adult role and could no longer completely ignore what this would mean for her.

Case 3: This family, consisting of mother and daughter, was known to the Family Society between January 1936 and May 1939 and between February 1946 and April 1947. When Mrs. S. came to the agency she was penniless; DPW was arranged for and continued until 1939 when ADC was initiated. Mrs. S. seemed satisfied with this financial status; in fact, seemed overly grateful for the help given her.

Mrs. S's chief complaints were in relation to her extreme poor health. Her various illnesses were thought to be psychogenic in origin, and she also developed paranoid tendencies; in fact, seemed to be a very disturbed woman. Though she seemed to get satisfaction from her relationship with the Family Society worker, she was unable to use the relationship constructively. She was frequently unable to be honest with the worker, and to face the reality situation. For instance, she claimed that she and her daughter were white, and although her daughter accepted herself as colored, Mrs. S. disclaimed it, and this was not only

a source of conflict between the two, but very disturbing to the daughter.

Mrs. S. was extremely overprotective of the daughter, Alice, who was born in 1928. When Alice was eight, Mrs. S. still frequently carried her in her arms and constantly thought of ways of keeping her at home instead of allowing her to go to school. Mrs. S. excused herself by saying that Alice was all she had. It was noted from the beginning that Alice was undernourished, and as she grew older and her mother continued to force her to remain a baby, she developed a gastrointestinal difficulty which was treated at a psychiatric clinic. After this treatment Mrs. S. seemed more willing to allow Alice to at least attend school regularly, and Alice's physical condition improved. But Mrs. S. complained that Alice's behavior was difficult, and that she was unable to control her. Alice at one time told her mother that since she had made a baby of her, she would have to take care of her as a baby.

In 1946, when Alice was eighteen and in the third year of high school, ADC was discontinued. That agency questioned whether further education was necessary for Alice and thought she could continue in night school. Alice's grades were fairly good, and she was determined to continue in day school; in fact, she wanted to continue beyond high school. Her ambition was to be a nurse; this was based on her after-school employment as a hospital ward maid. Her mother was agreeable to her continuation in school and said the important thing was for Alice to have a good start in life. Her interest, however, seemed quite passive. Arrangements were made for DPW, but this was discontinued in the summer when Alice worked full time in the hospital. There was considerable difficulty getting DPW reinstated in the fall, but Alice remained adamant about continuation in school. She said she didn't care where the money came from; she was going to continue anyway. After Family Society was able to have DPW reinstated, she broke contact with the agency, as the only basis on which the agency could reach her was in regard to finances.

This case illustrates principally a conflict between mother and daughter, complicated by the economic factor. The mother, in trying to keep Alice a baby denied her the fundamental need to grow up, and as a result, the daughter was exceedingly hostile to her mother and now determined to remain in the dependent role. Because of her very disturbed condition, it is not known how much meaning this had for the mother. However, it would seem that, while she needed to keep Alice a baby, she also felt guilty for her

actions and therefore could not be critical of Alice or demand that she obtain employment. Mrs. S. herself had been dependent for so long she seemed to lack any understanding of independence. On the whole she seemed to be withdrawn and broken in spirit. She had had so little for so long nothing seemed to matter as long as she could subsist.

Alice, on the other hand, was very much aware of her situation, and aggressively resisted anything which she construed as an effort to push her toward an adult role. It is unlikely that she clung to school for any reason except as a means of prolonging her dependent status. However, her school record was apparently satisfactory, and though she was retarded, this may have been due to her late start--for which she could also blame her mother. She probably did not consider school as a means for educational achievement, but a means of avoiding a more painful situation--support of her mother. Alice was willing to work after school, but to supply her own needs only.

The social agencies felt sorry for Alice, and she made the most of it. The Family Society was unable to help her very much, but they did support her desire to get through high school, though it was recognized that her greatest need was to work through her relationship with her mother. The difficulty will come when she finishes high school; though she wants to be a nurse, this is obviously unrealistic and is merely a means of prolonging her dependence. It is doubtful that she will find anyone to support this ambition. This desire does indicate, however, a drive for prestige and is in keeping with her aggressive attitude.

Alice is really going through a very difficult struggle because, though she feels so very resentful toward her mother, there is still a strong tie

between the two, and Alice is striving to break her mother's hold on her. There is here, then, a difficult problem in emancipation, complicated by the financial problem. And the daughter is trying to use the school as a tool in solving her problem. This is obviously not a solution, and eventually the girl will have to face some other plan.

Case 4: This family, known to the Family Society between May 1944 and April 1947, consists of Mrs. N. and daughter Helen, born 1930, and Mr. N. The family was on the whole self-supporting until Mr. N's illness in 1944 incapacitated him for further employment.

The marriage was the second for both Mr. and Mrs. N., and they both had grown children. Mr. N's children made no effort to help the family, although Mrs. N's children did assist. Mrs. N., however, became panicky and applied to the Family Society for relief. A plan for relief was made pending receipt of ADC.

Mr. N. became quite dependent during and following his illness, and made extensive demands for attention from his wife. This was a great burden on Mrs. N., who was herself a fundamentally dependent person and who had diabetes. Mrs. N. spoke half-heartedly of going to work, and this distressed Helen who said she would go to work herself rather than have her mother work.

In 1944 Helen was in the ninth grade and claimed that she was planning to leave school at the end of that year because there wasn't any use continuing on to high school when the teacher didn't think she was smart enough. The school had recommended a year in vocational school, which would keep her in school until age sixteen, but Helen realized that she could get an employment certificate without the additional year in school. Both Mr. and Mrs. N. disapproved of her leaving school and wanted her to learn a trade, although they did not agree on the trade they wanted her to learn, and Mr. N. did ridicule her ability to learn. Mrs. N. insisted that she would not be supported by a child and that Helen had nothing to say about whether or not she went to work. Helen scoffed at the idea of learning a trade and thought that she would like factory work.

Contact with the school indicated that they were not satisfied with Helen's adjustment there. She was nervous and did poorly in her studies; the nurse was especially concerned because she lost so much time on account of sickness and refused to wear the glasses prescribed by the school. Her diet was felt to be inadequate, and on several occasions she fainted in school.

Both nurse and teacher complained that Mrs. N. was uncooperative and left Helen too much to her own devices. Mrs. N. admitted that Helen's behavior was difficult, but said that she didn't feel well enough to cope with her; on the other hand, she resisted the agency's offer to help Helen. Another problem was the continual conflict between Helen and her step-father; on the whole, this seemed to be a battle for a monopoly of Mrs. N's affection.

Helen's attitude toward school delayed the receipt of ADC, but it was finally granted when Helen decided that if she passed the ninth grade she would continue in school. She did pass and continued in school, but for seven months only. She then went to work in a factory at thirty dollars per week. She claimed that she left school because she hated the ADC worker and didn't want anything more to do with that agency. She admitted that she was not happy working and considered returning to school from time to time, but never very seriously. Though she seemed to have considerable drive to get ahead, she was discouraged and dissatisfied; she wanted to help her mother, but resented supporting her step-father. She was very tired after the day's work, felt she was held down by her family, had few friends, and was ashamed of her poor home; she didn't think she could expect much from life. She seemed to appreciate the interest taken in her at the Family Society, but did not continue contact.

Mrs. N. was very upset at the termination of ADC and felt that she couldn't get along on Helen's earnings. When relief was refused by the Family Society, she became quite depressed. Though she allowed Helen, as the wage earner, to come in to the agency to discuss finances, it is possible that she blocked further contact as this had been her pattern in the past.

Helen's aggressiveness is more limited than that illustrated in the previous cases. Though she said in the beginning that she wanted to leave school, when she received the reassurance of a promotion she was willing to continue. It is probable that she also enjoyed the change of being the center of attention in the family--the family income was dependent upon her decision. This may also have contributed to her remaining in school, since, in a sense, she was supporting her family--because of her the family was able to receive ADC. However, that situation must not have been as satisfying as she had hoped, and in desperation she took the step from school to employment as she had previously threatened.

Both Mr. and Mrs. N. are dependent, self-centered people overwhelmed by economic stress which was caused by Mr. N's illness. Helen never liked her step-father and attempted to discount his position in the family. On the other hand, she was overprotective of her rejecting mother, wanted to take care of her, to assume a role that would win her affection. Helen really seemed quite masochistic; she sacrificed herself repeatedly.

Helen's poor school adjustment is a reflection of her home situation. Her intelligence may have been low, and this certainly would have contributed to her insecurity in school. Nevertheless, she seemed much too disturbed to have been performing up to her maximum capacity. She apparently thought employment would be a less threatening situation.

Though Mr. and Mrs. N. superficially believed in education and wanted Helen to continue in school, they seemed mostly concerned about their own poor position. Helen's continuation in school would mean they would receive ADC which would probably exceed what Helen could earn. Also, if Helen learned a trade they could expect her earnings to be greater in the future.

Helen's attitude seems to be characterized by ambivalence. On the one hand she wished to remain dependent, but even when she was ill, she got little recognition from her mother. On the other hand, she might gain some status through employment. But this step did not bring her closer to independence; it strengthened her family's hold on her.

Though Helen did act when hard pressed and the worker felt she had considerable drive to get ahead, her drive for independence was largely blocked, and her outburst of aggression was followed by a period of depression and passivity. Though she felt that she had probably been wrong to

leave school, she only vaguely considered returning. So with an air of hopelessness she assumed the burden of the family support. Though Helen seemed interested in casework help, she did not continue the contact. The agency's function was primarily relief giving, though some help was given Mrs. N. in understanding her husband's dependency.

Passivity

Case 5: This family, known to the Family Society since January 1946, consists of a couple and their three children--a boy fifteen, a girl eleven, and a boy one and one-half. Mr. M. was unemployed for nine years, and the family was on DPW, but he had been regularly employed as a laborer for the past five years. However, it has been impossible for the family to keep out of debt because of frequent illness in the family.

They first applied for relief at Family Society after a fire which destroyed most of their clothing and furniture. Relief was given then and later when the children returned to school and needed clothing. Mrs. M. has since made further requests for relief which have been refused.

Mrs. M. seemed exceedingly careworn and worried excessively about the children. She was particularly concerned about their health and disappointed that though she had been pregnant nearly every year of her marriage she had only three children living. One daughter had died in 1945 after a long, painful illness. Mrs. M. also worried excessively about finances and never allowed her husband to forget his low earnings. She attempted to work herself, but became acutely ill with ulcerative colitis. Mr. M., a rather passive, inadequate man, became terrified that his wife might die and blamed himself for her condition. Mrs. M.'s physical condition improved, but her anxiety in regard to the family situation did not subside. She made it clear to the family that it was worry over them that made her ill.

Charles, the fifteen-year-old boy, completed his second year of trade school in June 1947. He did not obtain a summer job, much to his mother's disappointment. She recalled that in her day children went to work at fourteen and turned their full earnings over to their parents. She thought her husband was too easy on Charles. Charles returned to school in the fall and tried to obtain an after-school job through the school, but without success. He offered to leave school, but his mother disapproved because she recognized the poor employment situation and thought he would have a better opportunity if he completed his schooling. But she admitted she didn't see much

point in his remaining if he wasn't interested. His interest began to lag, and he also truanted a few times. Mrs. M. was furious about the truanting, but at times herself kept Charles out of school to help her. Mrs. M. complained about how much money she had to give Charles, but said she was afraid that he would steal it if she didn't give it to him. The only times Charles was seen by the worker he seemed to be unhappy and depressed, but not hostile or aggressive toward his mother. Even when his mother upbraided him before the worker for truanting he did not get angry but just looked most unhappy. Mrs. M. kept him busy with a number of small chores, and he seemed to accept this without protest.

Mary, the eleven-year-old daughter, was out of school frequently on account of asthmatic attacks, but her school record was good. Mrs. M. only worried about Mary's future transfer from parochial school to public school; she felt she would not get as good training in the latter school. The youngest child is a pre-school-age boy; the agency attempted to arrange for nursery school, but Mrs. M. resisted this.

The mother is the driving force in this family. The father seemingly is not greatly disturbed by the family circumstances, and it is only in times of great crisis that he becomes conscious of his inadequacy as head of the house. On the other hand, Mrs. M's resentment and hostility kept building up over the many years of hardship and deprivation. As the years passed and her responsibilities increased rather than lessened, she succumbed to ulcerative colitis. This proved a very useful tool because she could then escape responsibility and arouse a great deal of guilt and anxiety in the other members of the family; thus she found some outlet for her hostility.

She continued to be the controlling force in the family and bent the rest of the family to her will. But she seemed to be confused as to what she wanted Charles to do. She resented his not working when she remembered that she had started work at fourteen. It was difficult for her to postpone receipt of Charles' earnings; at the same time, she recognized that his opportunities would be much better if he completed his course. She seemed to

have a great deal of fear about his ability to obtain work anyway.

Charles seemed to reflect his mother's confusion, and though he did not seem especially anxious to assume responsibility, an occasional day away from school was the greatest defiance that he could show toward his mother. And his mother made him feel very guilty for these episodes. The agency contact was primarily with the mother; it was hoped that the boy might be helped by relieving the mother of some of her anxiety, but her interest was mainly in financial help, and when this was refused, she broke contact with the agency.

This family has had a long struggle with economic dependency and looks forward to the son's financial help. Mrs. M. is particularly anxious to receive this supplementation, but the father is unwilling to push the boy. Mrs. M. may have had some fear that if she did push Charles he would break with the family, and she would lose all chance of help. And so she doesn't dare push him too strongly toward employment, but she takes advantage of him in other ways--forces him in other directions. Because of the slight contact with the boy, his problems are not well known. He seemed to be struggling between meeting his own needs and meeting the family needs. On the whole he seemed to submit to his mother's control. Because of Mrs. M's basic hostility, the worker was unable to promote a better adjustment in this family.

Case 6: This case was known to the Family Society between May 1946 and April 1947. Mary, age fifteen and in the third year of high school, was referred for help with educational and vocational plans. There was little likelihood of her not finishing high school; the problems were whether she would go on to college and the choice of a vocation.

Mary's mother had died in 1942 and she had since lived first with a married half-sister and more recently with Gladys, a

single half-sister who was employed. Her father was employed nearby as a gardener. She saw him only sporadically, and he did not contribute to her support. Aside from a weekly allowance of one dollar from a half-brother, she was entirely dependent on Gladys for support. She felt guilty taking money from Gladys and didn't know where she was going to get money for clothes for her senior year. She made feeble attempts to get employment, but was very conscious of her age being against her. She was further limited by the type of work that she would accept; she worked as a maid in a hospital for a few weeks, but felt the work was too strenuous for the money earned. She claimed that Gladys didn't want her to do baby-sitting, though Mary didn't think she was qualified for any other type of work. Through the Family Society she obtained a summer job as camp counselor at five dollars per week; she was not enthusiastic about this work, but remained until the end of camp.

Mary's relationship with her mother had been very close, and her relationship with the half-sister with whom she first lived was good, but Gladys was domineering, rigid, and had excessively high standards. Though Mary admitted being unhappy with Gladys, she preferred to stay with her because she represented "family". Gladys and her brother were both college graduates, but they seemed to maintain a neutral attitude in regard to Mary's educational problem. The father, however, urged Mary not to go to college; he told her she should make a home for him. Mary claimed she would not be happy with him and would not give up college for him, but the Family Society worker thought she felt considerable guilt in regard to her father.

Mary was the outstanding girl in her class; she not only was an excellent scholar, but considered an outstanding school citizen, though she held no school position. The principal, who was seen by the Family Society worker, was most enthusiastic about Mary's abilities and said that she would undoubtedly be given a partial and possibly a full college scholarship.

Mary, however, remained indecisive. She claimed she was not getting practical vocational advice from her teachers. However, she did not make use of Family Society vocational counseling though this was suggested to her. The agency also told her they would help with finances if she decided she wanted to go to college, but this did not seem to influence her. She felt that the fact that she would graduate at the age of sixteen was a handicap to her, and she considered postponing additional education until she was older. She based this principally on an interest in nursing, and that she would be unable to go into training until age eighteen. Her interest in nursing seemed tied up with her contact with the hospital at the time of her mother's death. She considered library work or teaching as the only other possibilities for her. She seemed to have a good

social sense, but this was largely superficial, and she spoke frequently of feelings of inferiority and worried a great deal about her need to assume responsibility. She broke contact with the agency because she felt that talking about her problems only accentuated her unhappiness.

Mary is a brilliant student with the opportunity of going to college, but at the same time she is confused and unhappy. School apparently served as an outlet for her energies and satisfied her drive for achievement; there she obtained prestige and status. But it didn't fully compensate for her feelings of inferiority. She yearned for the stability of home and family. Certainly she did not feel accepted and loved by Gladys, and it is possible that she interpreted her mother's death and half-sister's leaving as rejection. There seemed to be no one to appreciate her efforts in school or to take an interest in her problems. Her father's attitude and her ambivalence toward him added to her problem. This lack of security seems to have retarded her emotional development, so that while she did well scholastically, she was unwilling to assume responsibility. She was satisfied to maintain the status quo and kept erecting obstacles to the solution of her problem. The financial problem was just another of these unrealistic barriers, and when the agency began to break down these barriers, she became so fearful that she broke contact with the agency.

There is no question that the financial problem was a real one, but it was more a contributing factor than the main problem. Though she did not like being dependent on Gladys and often preferred to do without rather than ask for money, it is probable that Mary's feeling of insecurity could be traced to her mother's death. It is interesting that she set high standards for herself, which, while in keeping with her abilities, actually seemed to be based on a need to compensate for her feelings of inferiority.

For she could not accept a compromise; for instance, she was unwilling to work as a hospital ward maid, although she needed the money.

We have here a girl who has the abilities and opportunity for college and a professional career being blocked by her emotional development. Though superficially the financial problem looms large, it is the girl's own indecisiveness and passivity that are the controlling factors. Her need for dependence was strong, and when the agency tried to push toward college, her defenses merely became stronger.

Case 7: This family was known to the Family Society intermittently between 1933 and 1939 and between 1943 and 1947. Mr. R. was a fisherman and his earnings were irregular so that it was necessary for the agency to supplement frequently. There were eleven children. The family also received ADC intermittently after Mr. R's death in 1943, and the balance of the income came from the earnings of the children. It was difficult to get a clear picture of the family income, and it was felt that Mrs. R. was not especially honest in reporting the financial situation; she was overanxious and had considerable difficulty in handling money.

Mr. R. had little interest in education and took the children out of school at the earliest possible moment. On the whole, he expected them to contribute regardless of their own needs and whether or not they could afford it. However, he did not wish the girls to seek work until they were eighteen, although he took them out of school at fourteen to help their mother with the younger children. As a consequence the girls felt very angry and resentful toward their parents, and were especially indignant that their father should have such a large family when he could not support them. Mrs. R. never expressed any dissatisfaction with the size of the family, but was always pre-occupied with the problem of support for the family. She tried to keep her children with her as means of support; however, through contact with the Family Society and ADC she gradually lost some of her fear of non-support and gained some self-assurance in handling her problems.

The oldest girl was very dissatisfied at home after leaving school, but made only feeble attempts to obtain employment; she married early. The next youngest girl worked intermittently, but was never satisfied with her employment and frequently left jobs to stay at home. However, she also resented being tied down by her home duties and claimed she could not do more for

her mother because of poor health. When she worked, she tended to keep her earnings for herself. She finally married in 1946. Bob, the eldest boy, was a fisherman like his father and assumed the main support for the family after his father's death. This responsibility weighed heavily on him, and he was very upset when drafted into the Navy; he was in the service only a short time when he was discharged as psychoneurotic. He was able to plan marriage, however, and relinquish responsibility for the entire family. The next son, who also left school at fourteen, made his main contribution while in the service. He did not seem as close to the family as the rest of the children and married after his service discharge.

The greatest trouble was as to whether Tom, born in 1928, should remain in school. He had stayed out of school one year to help with family support and had also been out of school a lot on account of sickness, but at the age of sixteen he was in the third year of high school. He said he was very anxious to complete high school and then go into some mechanical work; he dreamed of being an airplane pilot. Shortly after he started his third year of high school an accident involving his eye kept him out of school, and it was a long time before the extent of the eye damage could be determined.

In the meantime, his mother put pressure on him to go to work, and ADC supported his mother's viewpoint. He finally did go to work, but was dissatisfied, changed jobs frequently, and continued to come to Family Society to discuss school and vocational plans. He had extensive contact with the Family Society vocational counseling department and arrangements were made for trade school, but he never followed through on the plan because night school infringed too much on his free time. After an operation on his eye he was drafted into the Army where he stayed only a few months. After discharge he made little attempt to get employment and talked vaguely about going back to school, but his mother, who was then receiving ADC, did not press him in any particular activity; she seemed satisfied merely to have him back with her. He was the only one of the older children unmarried. The younger children were on the whole well adjusted in school, and the problems they presented were only very temporary ones.

This large family had always had the problem of economic insecurity, and the children were expected to contribute to the family income. Though there seems to be a cultural factor in operation here in the early withdrawal of the children from school, it would seem that the parents were so pre-occupied with providing for the economic needs of the family that they

were unable to consider any other needs. Mr. R. was certainly a patriarch and bent all his children to his will; this naturally resulted in resentment, but it also produced a family cohesiveness, so that the children found it difficult to break away. It was especially difficult for the boys who, in identifying with the father, felt very keenly the responsibility to take care of the family. And their mother, who was terrified that she might be left without any support, reinforced Mr. R's viewpoint.

Tom, however, was quite determined to complete high school, and though he left once, returned and plugged doggedly on until the accident to his eye again caused him to miss school. He could then no longer resist the pressure from his mother to go to work, and though he continued to profess interest in further training, he lacked initiative and continued to drift from one job to another. After giving up the struggle to meet his own needs, his passivity increased until after his discharge from the service he had regressed to a completely dependent stage. In the meantime his mother had gained some feeling of security and no longer pushed him into any activity. It is possible that she felt some guilt about her former treatment of him.

The economic factor operating to curtail educational opportunity and achievement is very obvious in this case. The Family Society tried to help Tom directly, and indirectly through his mother, but it is probable that his drive for achievement was weak anyway and that he could not have continued without support from his mother. When he might have continued in high school, she urged him into employment. By the time she realized that she could get along without his help, he had lost his desire for achievement.

Case 8: This family has been known to the Family Society intermittently since 1931 and continuously since 1945. There has always been a marital problem, and the parents have been separated about five years; the separation seems permanent, though there is little likelihood of a divorce. The children are with their mother and see their father seldom, though he showed considerable interest in their welfare in the earlier years.

The father, a peddler, has been unable to support his family adequately since 1931. There have been periods of public relief and Family Society relief, and since April 1945, Mrs. D. has been receiving ADC continuously. She has also received income from the children's earnings. Mrs. D. is a poor manager, and the standards in the home have always been very low. Mrs. D's intelligence was found to be low, and she is apt to get quite frantic about the family's economic status.

There are three children. Joseph, the eldest, born April 1926, was an average student and interested in school; his teachers liked him, but noted he looked dead tired most of the time. He was considered a problem by his father and tended to get into trouble in the community. In 1935 a SPCC investigation resulted in his being placed in a foster home for two years. However, he was later active in the Boys Club and held in high esteem. He left school at the age of sixteen much against his will, but his mother insisted on his support. In 1943 he was committed to a mental institution with a diagnosis of dementia praecox. He has since been in and out of the same institution, but at first tried to return to work--even served in the Navy for a short period, but since his last release has not attempted employment. He is the source of considerable conflict in the home.

The next child is Theresa, born May 1929. The agency contact has been chiefly with this girl who has been seen regularly since 1945 and who has greatly profited from case work treatment. When she came to the agency she was working after school as a ward maid at ten dollars per week for a thirty-hour week. Though she was overtired, she felt a keen responsibility to support her family; this was somewhat alleviated by arrangement for ADC. She still felt backward about asking her mother for money, however, and worked during vacations to provide her own clothes and spending money as much as possible. Case work treatment was centered around her feelings of personal insecurity which were heightened by adolescence and augmented by her mother's rejection and incapability and by the prolonged financial insecurity. She was exceedingly timid and naive, and her social activities were practically nil, but as her confidence increased, she broadened her activities and the circle of her friends and became enthusiastic about strengthening her security.

Her school record was excellent, and she was usually on the honor roll; in fact, was over-conscientious and over-ambitious. The matter of a vocation was troublesome to her because she felt the need for a job to enable her to support her mother properly; at the same time she was frightened by responsibility. She asked for vocational counseling, which was given, and clerical work was recommended, which pleased her. During her senior year she secured a part-time clerical job which became full time upon her graduation from high school in June 1947; she was then eighteen. Her senior year was by far her most enjoyable from a social standpoint, and her scholastic standing also remained good. After graduation she gave her mother half of her earnings and assumed leadership in the family. After a couple of months she obtained another job which she considered better and was considering further education in clerical work at night school.

Louis, the youngest child, born July 1930, was working after school in a meat market and earned between eight and fifteen dollars per week. Prior to the establishment of ADC, however, he did not contribute as regularly to his mother as his sister did. He has not been employed since the initiation of ADC. He was happy to have the opportunity to complete school and always did his lessons. But he was nervous, embarrassed because his clothing was inappropriate, and had difficulties with persons in authority. He had considerable difficulty with the ADC worker, and in 1946 he was suspended from school for truanting. His reason for truanting was because he was late and afraid to go in, so he continued to stay away from school. However, he is still attending school, is not retarded, and expects to complete high school. He affects an attitude of self-sufficiency through defensive hostility, and as a consequence it has been impossible for the Family Society to reach him for case work treatment, and contact has been meager.

This is the most interesting case because it illustrates several reactions to the same problem and is the only instance of real achievement as a result of casework. This is particularly noteworthy in view of the long period of economic insecurity and poor home environment.

The mother represented the chief source of pressure. Her greatest interest was in relation to an adequate subsistence, and she was greatly harassed by her responsibilities. Her confusion and fear were transferred to the children so that they felt tremendously insecure. These feelings were further increased by the mother's rejection of the children, and as

they got older they recognized their mother as being terribly dependent and requiring a great deal from them. As a result the children felt an overwhelming sense of depression. There was, in addition, considerable sibling rivalry. And because their deprivation was so severe they felt generally inferior to society.

Though the children felt the responsibility to support, school was also important to them; only the eldest and favorite gave in to his mother. Mrs. D's control was lessened by her obvious rejection of the children. Joseph, the eldest, seemed to have considerable drive for success, but broke under the strains imposed on him. Theresa, on the other hand, reacted to a need for success by being over-conscientious and over-good; she was the timid type whose maladjustment is frequently overlooked because it harms no one but themselves. It is because this girl was best known to the agency and because her attitude was mainly that of submission that this case has been classified as passive. However, Theresa was able to use casework help very effectively and overcame her insecurity to a considerable extent. Although she had had a good school record before referral to the Family Society, she was later better able to enjoy school and her associations there; she also did not feel so strongly the need to work while trying to complete high school. She also received reassurance through her contact with the vocational guidance department of the Family Society. Because she had confidence in herself, she didn't need to hold to any rigid plan and could consider further education as well as employment and could also participate in various recreational activities. She didn't need to worry so much about her mother and her family relationships, but was freer to satisfy her own needs.

Louis, the youngest child, however, concealed his insecurity behind such a strong curtain of hostility that it was impossible to help him. This hostile attitude decidedly affected his school adjustment and it is questionable whether he will finish school. He may break completely with the family because it is certain that he will not choose to support his mother. The agency also found it impossible to affect any improvement in Mrs. D's attitude.

While the economic pressure continued, at least one member of the family was able to make a satisfactory adjustment even though she continued to live at home.

resistance to this legislation both from employers and economically insecure families. The regulation of child labor remains primarily with the states, and there is no legislation which sets a national standard. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 tends in this direction, but its coverage is limited. The work of the Children's Bureau in this area has been very effective, but there are still only a few states where the minimum standard as promulgated by the Children's Bureau is met. This minimum standard considers sixteen as the basic age for employment and would place limitations on the employment of all minors.

Of equal importance with the actual standard is the administration of the law. The effective administration of child labor legislation is dependent upon the establishment of adequate employment certification systems. Another aspect of regulation is the requirement of school attendance to a specified age. The problem has been attacked from still another angle through the granting of financial aid to economically insecure families. This is done on the national level through the Social Security Act as well as on the local level.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The children of today are the adults of tomorrow is a well-known truism. Furthermore, our country is founded on the concept of equal opportunity for all, but this concept is not operative in our public schools.

The relationship between economic dependency and school adjustment has long been recognized by safeguards set up to protect the child. With the acceptance of the principle of public education came the recognition of the need for legislation to limit child labor. But there has been tremendous resistance to this legislation both from employers and economically insecure families. The regulation of child labor remains primarily with the states, and there is no legislation which sets a national standard. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 tends in this direction, but its coverage is limited. The work of the Children's Bureau in this area has been very effective, but there are still only a few states where the minimum standard as promulgated by the Children's Bureau is met. This minimum standard considers sixteen as the basic age for employment and would place limitations on the employment of all minors.

Of equal importance with the actual standard is the administration of the law. The effective administration of child labor legislation is dependent upon the establishment of adequate employment certification systems. Another aspect of regulation is the requirement of school attendance to a specified age. The problem has been attacked from still another angle through the granting of financial aid to economically insecure families. This is done on the national level through the Social Security Act as well as on the local level.

In Massachusetts, the child labor legislation tends toward the standard set up by the Children's Bureau though in special cases children may be employed under sixteen. The employment certificate system is extensive, regulating to some degree all minors. In addition, the law requires school attendance to age sixteen though exceptions are provided for. In Boston, a division of the Public School Department, known as the Bureau of Child Accounting, has been set up to act as a child-guidance clinic. Also, an effort has been made to meet special needs through four clerical, vocational, and trade schools.

It can be seen, then, that real efforts are being made to cope with the problem. But early employment and school leaving is not eliminated, as verified by the large number of employment certificates issued and by the gradual decrease from grade to grade in the high-school population. The cases included in this paper all came from a neighborhood where there was a high degree of economic insecurity, and the studies made by the Community Council of Greater Boston also indicate that there are fewer minors between fourteen and twenty-one years of age in school in this area than almost any other neighborhood in the community.

The writer would like to recommend that in Massachusetts employment of children under sixteen years of age be discontinued, and regulations now applicable to that age group apply to the sixteen-eighteen year age group. In accordance with this, the use of the eighth grade, rather than the sixth grade, as the minimum education requirement would meet present day standards. Also, greater emphasis should be given to physical fitness. While the present stress on school attendance is valid, the writer questions whether this operates as a matter of law enforcement or is handled in such

a way as to have meaning to the student. The greatest difficulty and weakness is in regard to administration. Regardless of the close relationship between work and school, the school authorities seem to be accepting more than their responsibility. It is beyond the abilities of this writer to evaluate the school system per se; it would seem that every effort is being made to serve the child, and that the lacks are due to insufficient funds and personnel.

The problem school attendance and adjustment is by no means simply a matter of obtaining adequate regulation. Economic dependency has broad psychological implications. Economic security in itself gives prestige as well as material things, and the economically insecure person has a greater need for prestige and consequently a greater drive for prestige. This drive may, however, be blocked by emotional or environmental factors, or may be directed along immature channels.

The child's first need for prestige (for acceptance and status) should be met in his family relationships. When this need is not met, he is handicapped in subsequent situations. School is the first situation with which the child is faced outside his family circle and remains an important part of his life as he passes along toward maturity. His home situation is therefore usually reflected in his school adjustment. Even when he may make a superficially good adjustment, he may not be performing up to his maximum capacity and may not be obtaining the maximum satisfactions. In all of the cases studied the children felt insecure and inferior. This necessarily made their adjustments, including the school adjustment, difficult. This was true even of the girl who was the outstanding girl in her class. One girl was thought to have a good school adjustment, but this

was noticeably improved when she gained in self-confidence.

Leaving the protective school situation to accept adult responsibilities may be very disturbing to the child, especially if the responsibilities that he is required to assume are especially heavy. He will also wish to avoid this change if he is not emotionally ready to assume further responsibilities and will continue to seek satisfactions from a dependent status. On the other hand, if he is unable to obtain status at school, he may seek it in employment.

In no case could the poor school adjustment be blamed entirely on the economic situation. In every case the parents were also insecure and failed to meet their children's needs. The parents' capacity to meet the child's need may be limited because the parents are themselves feeling pressures caused by the economic situation, but the extent of this pressure depends upon their own emotional maturity as well as the severity of the economic situation. Though the economic factor is usually only one of a number of factors contributing to the child's adjustment, it may be the most important factor outside his relationship with his parents, because it acts to increase any other pressure that he may be feeling.

While economically insecure families necessarily look forward to the children being able to supplement the family income, the child's response will depend upon two factors: (1) how great a control his family exerts, (2) how much opportunity he has to meet his own needs through school. The child's ability to accept responsibility depends upon his emotional development which is based on past satisfactions; success in school is a preparation for greater responsibilities. Adolescence and the child's emotional development, therefore, are of great importance in considering the child's

school adjustment. It is the child's attitudes that are most important for his success.

In the classification of aggressive children, two children used the school situation to avoid more adult responsibility; it was an act of defiance against their mothers whom they would have to support if they left school. One girl, whose school record was poor, left school because she thought employment would be a less threatening situation; this also represented an act of defiance against her parents and was an effort to move toward emancipation from them. It is doubtful whether she would have made the move if she had realized what it meant to work every day and support her family. The three cases cited above are all adolescents; the other case in this classification was a boy whose school behavior was very disturbed because he was emotionally unprepared to leave his family circle for a broader environment.

In the four cases whose reactions were classed as passive, the school records were better, but these children also complained of feelings of inferiority and were not necessarily any better prepared for adult responsibility. There was one child in the group who left school because of pressure from his mother. This boy's total adjustment was the worst of all the cases studied, since after discharge from the service he made no attempt toward either employment or education. On the other hand, the girl who best profited from casework treatment was also in this group. The other two cases studied presented patterns of indecisiveness and confusion. Especially remarkable is that the girl who was judged the most outstanding in her class was nevertheless a very insecure person who had a great need for dependence. This would seem to refute the hypothesis that the school

adjustment reflects the total adjustment of the child, but when this girl's attitude toward school is considered, her insecurity becomes obvious.

The study of these cases reveals that though the child feels pressures from society, those of the greatest importance are within his family group. These relationships may cause feelings of inferiority and insecurity for which the child seeks to compensate. This may result in an excessive drive for status and independence, but when accompanied by too much anxiety, it inhibits the child from performing his tasks efficiently, so he fails scholastically, and this causes greater anxiety. On the other hand, the child may seek all his satisfactions in school, and while this produces a good school record, it does not indicate that the child is ready or willing to move on to more adult problems.

The need for dependence may be so great that the child submits to any plan that his parents make for him, whether this be continuation in school or employment. There was only one case where the child left school under these circumstances. However, the dependency needs of these eight cases all seem excessive, and it is the emotional dependence which must be dealt with before better school adjustments can be achieved.

Very few of these cases come to the attention of the North-West End District of the Family Society of Greater Boston; the problem was represented in only about 5% of the case load of the agency during the 1946-1947 school term. The help given by the Family Society depends upon the child's ability to accept and use help. While the child's needs were recognized in all of the eight cases presented, only two children accepted and used casework help. In only one case is adjustment markedly improved. However, this improvement has been remarkable and illustrates the possibilities of treatment.

Approved,

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APPENDIX

Schedule used to Abstract Cases

STATUS OF CASE:

PARENTS

MARITAL STATUS

OCCUPATION: FATHER
MOTHEREDUCATION OF PARENTS: FATHER
MOTHERATTITUDE TOWARD EDUCATION: FATHER
MOTHER

ECONOMIC STATUS:

CHILDREN:

NAME

AGE OR BIRTHDATE

SCHOOL GRADES COMPLETED

STILL ATTENDING?

AGE LEFT SCHOOL AND REASON

SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT

WORK HISTORY

Schedule Used at Interview
with Miss Cotter, ADC

What is the agency contact with the child?

What is the agency contact with the school and what use is made of the school record?

What is the thinking in relation to a poor school record?

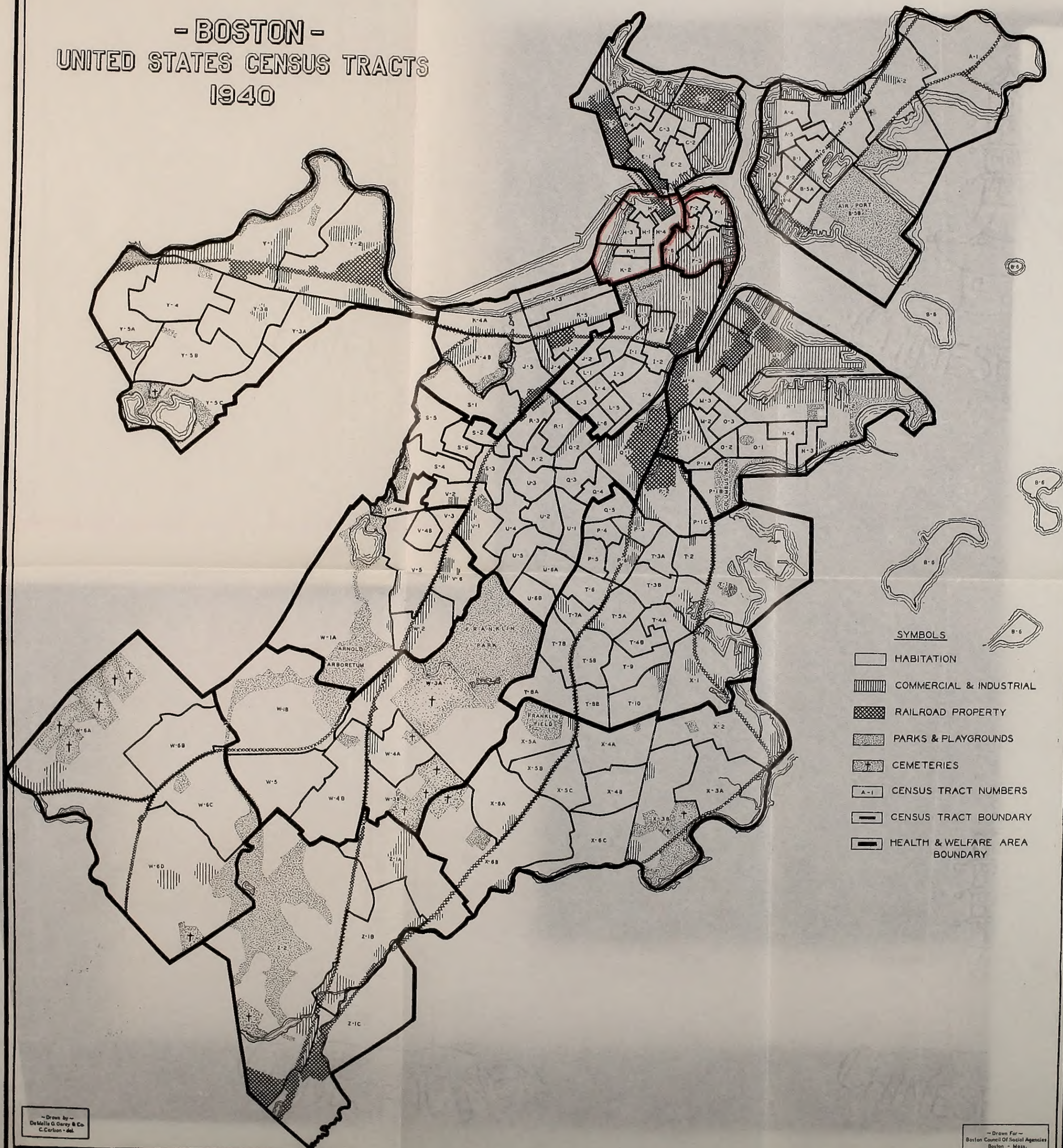
When is ADC continued beyond sixteen years of age?

What is the agency thinking in relation to after-school employment? Once started to work, do the child's interests center more around employment than school?

How do clients get along on ADC; do they consider it adequate? Is the budget according to school needs?

How does the North-West End compare with other areas?

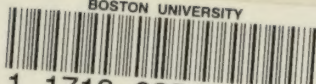
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